

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00

USIE-00 AEC-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00

OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02

SS-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01 CU-02

AECE-00 /088 W

----- 082147

O R 081201Z FEB 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 561

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 241

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

SUFRSHH/USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 830

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, PARM, EGEN SGEN, XG

SUBJ: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - FEBRUARY 3-7

1. SUMMARY: CSCE REGISTERED NO NEW TEXTS THIS WEEK, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MANY MONTHS, AS THE SOVIETS DUG IN THEIR HEELS ON ALL CONFERENCE SUBJECTS. THEY ASSUME WIDESPREAD  
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ACCEPTANCE IN PRINCIPLE OF A SUMMIT CONCLUSION IN JUNE -

JULY AND APPEAR CONFIDENT THSS WILL FORCE WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS TO GIVE UP THEIR MORE AMBITIOUS PROPOSALS AND AGREE TO THE MINIMAL POSITIONS ADVANCED BY THE EAST (SEE PARAS 8 & 9 FOR ANALYSIS). THE SOVIETS THUS REFUSED ANY FLEXIBILITY OF THEIR OWN, AND ADDED TO THE FRUSTRATION WHICH ONCE AGAIN DOMINATED THE CONFERENCE. MEANWHILE, THE PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE HAS BOGGED DOWN FOR TWO WEEKS OVER DOCTRINAL DISPUTE ABOUT ROLE OF HUMAN CONTACTS IN COOPERATION AMONG STATES (NINTH PRINCIPLE). IN VIEW OF THE UNANIMOUS DESIRE FOR AN EARLY CONCLUSION TO THE STAGE II NEGOTIATIONS, PRESSURES FOR PROGRESS ON BASKET III AND CBM'S CONTINUED TO BUILD, DESPITE DOUBTS ON THE PART OF SOME DELEGATIONS THAT CSCE COULD COMPLETE ITS WORK THIS SPRING. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- NO PROGRESS WAS MADE THIS WEEK ON NINTH PRINCIPLE OF COOPERATION AMONG STATES. SUBCOMMITTEE HAS BEEN HUNG UP FOR SOME TIME OVER DRAFTING OF THIRD SENTENCE, WHERE WESTERN COUNTRIES WANT TO REFER TO ROLE OF HUMAN CONTACTS IN COOPERATION AND SOVIETS REFUSE SUCH REFERENCE. EACH SIDE SUSPECTS THE OTHER OF TRYING TO TILT IN ITS FAVOR DELICATE BALANCE BEING STRUCK IN HUMAN CONTACTS TEXTS IN BASKET III. RESULT HAS BEEN TWO WEEKS OF LONG AND SOMETIMES ACID DOCTRINAL DEBATE, WITH VIRTUALLY NO PROGRESS ON DRAFTING. HTUS SUBCOMMITTEE DECIDED, AT WEEK'S END, TO BEGIN FOURTH SENTENCE, LEAVING THIRD IN ABEYANCE FOR TIME BEING. REGISTRATION OF EIGHTH PRINCIPLE CONTINUES TO BE HELD UP PENDING RESOLUTION OF SOVIET-ROMANIAN DIFFERENCES OVER THIRD PARAGRAPH OF ROMANIAN PROPOSAL ON NON-USE OF FORCE.

3. MILITARY SECURITY -- AFTER A BRIEF SESSION ON PARAMETERS FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION ON FEB 3, SUBCOMMITTEE ADJOURNED AND CANCELED ITS FEB 5 MEETING, IN ATTEMPT TO CONVEY TO SOVIETS THAT LITTLE FURTHER WORK ON THE MANEUVER CBM WAS POSSIBLE UNTIL THEY COULD SHOW SOME FLEXIBILITY. SOVIETS ARE EVIDENTLY AWARE OF THEIR UNCOMFORTABLE POSITION AND MAY BE LOOKING FOR APPROACHES

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TO GET AROUND SPECIFICS THEY CANNOT ACCEPT. NATO CAUCUS EXAMINED POSSIBLE FURTHER STEPS TO PROMPT THE SOVIETS TO NEGOTIATE. IN CAUCUS DISCUSSION OF NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS, MOST ALLIES JOINED THE NETHERLANDS IN A PREFERENCE TO DEFER FOR THE TIME BEING ANY INDICATION OF REDUCED ALLIED GOALS. SEVERAL ALLIES FOUND THE UK IDEA OF "DISCRETIONARY" NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS UNDESIRABLE, SINCE IT WOULD TEND TO WATER

DOWN THE ENTIRE CBM COMMITMENT. IN FEB 3 SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING, POLISH REP RETREATED FROM HIS STATEMENT OF THE PREVIOUS WEEK THAT MULTINATIONAL MANEUVERS SHOULD BE ANNOUNCED PUBLICLY, CLAIMING THAT HIS PROPOSAL WAS "ONLY AN IDEA" AND WOULD ONLY COME INTO PLAY "IF IN THE END IT IS DECIDED THAT THERE WILL BE DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF MANEUVERS". SUBCOMMITTEE RETURNED TO READING OF HELSINKI PARAGRAPHS 22 AND 24 ON FEBRUARY 7 ON THE BASIS OF UK COMPROMISE FORMULATIONS TABLED IN DECEMBER, AND HOPE WAS EXPRESSED THAT REMAINING DIFFERENCES -- PRINCIPALLY BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND THE NEUTRALS -- COULD BE WORKED OUT IN THE NEXT WEEK OR TWO.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- NO MEETINGS THIS WEEK.

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE FINISHED THE FORMAL RUN-THROUGH OF THE TWO LANGUAGE VERSIONS -- FRENCH AND RUSSIAN -- OF ITS INTRODUCTORY TEXT, WITHOUT RESOLVING ANY PROBLEMS. SMALLER INFORMAL SESSIONS ARE NOW BEING USED TO TRY TO REDUCE THE DIFFERENCES AND FIND A SOLUTION, BUT THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN THE FICTION THAT THE TWO VERSIONS ARE IDENTICAL. TRAVEL, TOURISM AND YOUTH WERE ALSO INFORMALLY DISCUSSED, WITH THE SOVIETS TAKING A VERY TOUGH LINE ON THE FORMER. IN INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE, INFORMAL SESSIONS CONCENTRATED ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS AND ONLY SERVED TO REVEAL THE NARROW LIMITS OF SOVIET INFLEXIBILITY. ALLIES SEEMED TO BE SOFTENING THEIR POSITION IN BOTH THESE SUBCOMMITTEES, AS SOVIET FIRMNESS AND THE PASSAGE OF TIME BEGAN TO TAKE THEIR TOLL. IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONFIDENTIAL

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CULTURE, ONLY MINIMAL PROGRESS WAS ACHIEVED, IN FACE

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USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 0830

OF CONTINUING SOVIET INFLEXIBILITY ON SUBSTANCE OF  
WESTERN PROPOSALS CONCERNING EXPANSION OF ARTISTIC CON-  
TACTS. IN EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE, UNEXPECTED FRG RESERVATION  
ON COMPROMISE TEXT FOR INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE  
SLOWED PACE OF WORK. AT WEEK'S END, HOWEVER, IT SEEMED  
LIKELY THAT FRG DEL WOULD BE IN POSITION TO REGISTER  
THIS TEXT IN NEAR FUTURE.

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6. MEDITERRANEAN--WORKING GROUP ON MEDITERRANEAN  
DECLARATION REACHED INFORMAL AGREEMENT ON A PARAGRAPH  
DECLARING INTENTION OF PARTICIPATING STATES TO CONDUCT  
THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN  
STATES IN THE SPIRIT OF THE CSCE PRINCIPLES.

7. FOLLOW-UP--IMPASSE CONTINUED, AS SOVIETS TRIED ELABORATE MANEUVERS TO OBTAIN SOME PREAMBULAR REFERENCE TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEW CONFERENCE OR CONFERENCES IN THE FUTURE. NATO GROUP STOUTLY RESISTED THIS EFFORT, AND SPECULATION GREW THAT SOVIETS WOULD PREFER A LOOSE COMMITMENT TO FUTURE CONFERENCES TO AGREEMENT ON A MORE SPECIFIC FOLLOW-UP MECHANISM.

8. COMMENT: IT APPEARS THAT THEIR CONTACTS WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN LEADERS HAVE CONVINCED THE SOVIETS THAT A STAGE III SUMMIT BY JUNE-JLY IS VITALLY IN THE BAG, AND THAT A FEW GESTURES BY THEM AT THE RIGHT TIME WILL ASSURE ITS FINAL ACCEPTANCE BY ALL PARTICIPATING STATES. THIS SOVIET ASSUMPTION IS REINFORCED BY THE GENERAL VIEW HERE THAT STAGE II NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD FINISH IN APRIL OR MAY, IN TIME FOR A THIRD STAGE IN LATE JUNE OR EARLY JULY. IN THIS SITUATION THE SOVIETS HAVE CLEARLY DECIDED TO SHOW NO FLEXIBILITY, AND TO LET PRESSURES FOR WESTERN AND NEUTRAL CONCESSIONS BUILD AS TIME GROWS SHORT. THE SOVIETS ARE THUS TRYING TO REVERSE THE TIME PRESSURE THE WEST HAS ALWAYS HOPED TO USE AGAINST THEM, AND TO APPLY IT TO THOSE COUNTRIES WHO THEORETICALLY SHOULD BE LESS INTERESTED THAN MOSCOW IN AN EARLY CONCLUSION. THEIR POSSIBILITIES FOR SUCCESS IN THIS EFFORT DEPEND ON THE VARIOUS WESTERN POLITICAL INVESTMENTS IN DETENTE IN GENERAL AND CSCE IN PARTICULAR, BUT THESE ARE, OF COURSE, CONSIDERABLE.

9. OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT THESE SOVIETS TACTICS ARE HAVING SOME EFFECT. THEIR DISCIPLINE AND PATIENCE MAY MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THEM TO OUTWAIT THE WEST. WHILE WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS ARE STILL CLINGING TO THEIR BASIC IDEAS ON BASKET III AND MILITARY SUBJECTS, CONFIDENTIAL

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MOST ADMIT INFORMALLY THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO SETTLE FOR LESS. THERE IS NOW A CLEAR WESTERN DESIRE FOR AN EARLY CONCLUSION, AND IT MAY BE POSSIBLE FOR THE SOVIETS TO STONEWALL FOR SOME TIME AND THEN OFFER, AT THE RIGHT MOMENT, A FEW TOKEN CONCESSIONS ON THE REMAINING SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. COMPLETE SOVIET INTRANSIGENCE, HOWEVER, COULD ULTIMATELY BRING WESTERN GOVERNMENTS TO CONCLUDE THAT THEY TOO SHOULD PLAY A WAITING GAME, AND IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE SOVIETS WANT THEIR SUMMIT BADLY, AND ON THEIR OWN SCHEDULE. JUST HOW TOUGH A POKER GAME THEY CAN PLAY, WITH THESE STAKES ON THE TABLE, STILL REMAINS TO BE SEEN. END COMMENT. DALE

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## Message Attributes

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**Office:** ACTION EUR  
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05 JUL 2006

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**Type:** TE  
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